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[261] on a man's property, as did also, in the following order, his sister's son and his brother's son. Within the household, food was freely shared, and correspondingly, a co-resident could ask for a material object. These requests, however, were not always granted. A common excuse was to say that the object was promised to someone having a stronger claim. Despite these evasions, the patterns of gift-giving created a constant circulation of food and objects throughout the village.

Inheritance

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[76] Transmission of property was accomplished chiefly through trade and gift. There is no information on the disposal of the material possessions of the deceased. The only available data on inheritance concern the office of chief and the possession of certain songs sung at the *ole* (manioc) ceremony. The former was inherited patrilineally and will be discussed later. The ceremonial songs were inherited either through the mother's brother or the mother's father. Thus, old Matiwana would some day teach his *ole* songs to Amanatsin, his daughter's eldest son. Nitvary, another of the three men who knew *ole* songs, learned them from Jawaku's father, who was his mother's brother. Since cross-cousin marriage was practiced, [58] Jawaku might marry Nitvary's sister, and their child would inherit the songs from Nitvary. In this way the *ole* songs returned to the direct patrilineal line every other generation.

613 In response to careful questioning, Quain was assured that these songs could be obtained only from the mother's brother and mother's father, and not from the father or the father's brother. The combination of this matrilineal trait and patrilineal elements is characteristic of the bilaterality in upper Xingú culture.

The Trade Game

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524 The trade game was a mechanism of inter- and intra-community distribution. Even more importantly it provided a framework for social participation, leisure time relaxation, and general enjoyment. As such it was one of the few integrating factors in Trumai society.

Afternoons, especially rainy afternoons, were dull times in the Trumai village. In Quain's words, "These people are bored but don't realize it! Wrestling provides some diversion, but nothing quickens spirits more than a brisk trade game (*kawirzo*). All that is needed is for one of the men to stride through the village with a bundle of goods to trade and suggest a *kawirzo*. Shouts go up on all sides, everybody crowds into one of the houses, and the game is on. Enthusiasm is even greater when there are visitors in the village."

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TRUMAI SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

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These were noisy affairs. The seller threw his merchandise on the ground and loosed an exultant shout. All the participants cried out in response. Occasionally the goods were offered in the hope of acquiring a desired article from a certain person, but usually they were put up for barter with the general public. In this case, whoever wanted the item went back to his house and brought an article to exchange. He placed this on the floor and picked up his purchase. Often the seller refused the proffered exchange and waited for a better offer. If the trade was consummated, another loud shout was given by the audience. These exchanges went on until the participants lost interest, or until no more goods were offered.

All exchanges were considered to be gift-giving. This was especially true of trade between fellow-Trumai. When members of other groups were involved, trade was at least formally so considered, although the behavior and attitudes in gift-giving, proper, were quite different. When Quain made exchanges he was always admonished to tell his wife who the donor of the "gift" was.

Within the Trumai village gift-giving and not trade was the usual form of property distribution, especially between kinsmen. A man might trade with a person whom he called mother's brother, or father's brother, or some other relationship term, but this was almost always a kin bond reckoned by extension, and not a close blood tie.

Women participated little in the men's trade games. In part this was due to the sexual dichotomy that operated in social participation generally, in part to the nature of the goods involved. A woman did not want to buy a man's fish hooks any more than he wanted her cotton. Occasionally a woman might break into the male trade game to buy a particular object, but once this was accomplished she would withdraw. A few women might sit around the house where the trade game was being held, especially if their husbands were participating. Occasionally the women held their own trade games in which cotton and household utensils were commonly bartered. Conventional shouts accompanied their activities, but they were less boisterous than those of the men.

The women were especially eager to trade with Quain, to get his cloth and colored thread in exchange for food, which normally was given away. The chief was also a main instigator of trade games with Quain. At times Quain refused to participate to the great annoyance of the would-be second party.

The trade game reflected the Trumai attitude towards property, in that it provided more enjoyment and excitement than any other form of social participation, except intertribal festivities. Each exchange was watched with bated breath, and the outcome greeted with happy cries and laughter. There was some indication that the most dominant and forward personalities were also the most energetic traders. It was

421 significant that Aloari, probably the most aggressive person in the village, was often an organizer and always a main participant in the games. On the other hand, he never cooperated in group work. It was
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527 This conventionalized form of exchange, which Quain called the trade game, had a strong functional role in Trumai culture, but there are indications that it was of outside origin. One informant said that it was a Bakairi custom, and Quain thought that the "game" might have been introduced by Bakairi traders bringing goods from the Indian post on the Paranatinga River.¹
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The Household

171 Among both the Waurá and the Kamayurá the extended family occupied its own house, and the head of the lineage was considered a sub-chief of the village.² Such unilocal, co-resident and extended family groupings, which were typical among tribes of the upper Xingú, were absent in the Trumai village.
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592 Consanguineally close male relatives usually formed co-resident units, but these nuclei of kinsmen were very small and did not constitute an entire household. Furthermore, they were related to each other through male or female lines. Due to village patrilocality, there was a tendency for patrilineally related males to live together, but this did not result in the establishment of a patrilineal lineage for several reasons. Among them the high death rate was very important.
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592 Maibu's house illustrates the eclectic nature of the Trumai household. Four nuclear families, totaling fourteen people, lived in it. Hanging
594 their hammocks from one of the two center posts were Katauka, his son Kamkuti, his brother's son Autsuki, and another brother's son and his wife. At the opposite end of the house were Maibu and his wife, the wife's son by Maibu's deceased brother, Maibu's sister Ayenuke, Makurawa, a classificatory sister's son, and Makurawa's wife and their three children. Although everyone in the household was related, bonds were closer between those people who hung their hammocks from the same post.

589 Despite the fact that the household, as a unit, had no specific functions, it established the framework within which certain interpersonal dependencies were worked out. Bride-capture, intertribal warfare, divorce, and early death caused a significant proportion of the Trumai to be temporarily or permanently without mates. This disadvantage was
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[177] ¹ The trade game was possibly borrowed from the Bakairi, as its existence among this group has been reported by Oberg (1963, p. 72). However, craft specialization and trade on the upper Xingú predates the Indian post. Cf. von den Steinen 1897, pp. 196, 207.

² De Lima (1960, p. 9.) reports this arrangement among the Waurá, and Oberg (1963, p. 48.) adds that the position of house chief tends to pass in the male line in the Kamayurá village.

THE LIFE CYCLE

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cumbent upon the males was a prohibition against wearing body paint for several months after the death. This ban extended to women, also. In addition, the female mourner could not sing in any of the ceremonies, and she cut her hair immediately after the death. Marriage was also forbidden her during the mourning period. (Autu came under censure as she had married her dead husband's sister's son — which at any time was reprehensible — even though her hair, cut when he died, had not yet grown back.) The woman was also required to wail occasionally for the dead person during the time of mourning, and she made flat mud discs, about one inch high, in the village center. Quain never found out the reason for this, although Kayaru made several of these markers for her dead brother. No special reverence or respect was given to the markers as they were usually demolished during the wrestling matches. 765 [587]

Recreation and Amusement

Trading sessions have been referred to as "games" because they are a form of amusement, but this appellation is in a way misleading, as the economic aspect of the "trade game" is very important. Actually, except for the intertribal spear-throwing contest, the only organized recreation is wrestling, and this is immensely popular throughout the whole upper Xingú area.⁴ Wrestling matches were especially frequent during intertribal visits and ceremonials. These occasions aroused keen interest, and competitive spirits ran high, but the onlookers made it a point of etiquette to show no partisanship, and the contestants made every effort to conceal latent intertribal hostility. They were always friendly to each other; and at the end of the match they exchanged a friendly embrace. This was not necessary between fellow Trumai or close kinsmen of different villages. The most effusive behavior was always shown toward those who were most disliked and mistrusted. 517 437 524 526 648 [77]

Wrestling matches always took place in the afternoon. All that was needed to start a match was a quorum of four or five men. These small bouts were usually informal and more in the nature of practice than competitive contests. When most of the men were in the village the contests attracted more attention and required more preparation. Bodies were painted and arm and leg bands were worn. The hair was usually combed and plastered down. 526 [302]

The men lined up on the log in the men's circle or brought stools. The women and young boys watched from the periphery. Uninitiated boys were not allowed to take part in the men's wrestling, but the older ones were generally permitted to sit with the men. 352 [652]

Each wrestler tried for a grip by grabbing at the body of the other. A variant of the half-Nelson was frequently attempted. The match

⁴ Cf. Galvão 1949, p. 44.

105 "Tremendous interest in property, together with a simple and declin-
181 ing culture, results in my being a seriously disturbing element in their
421 lives. Casual conversation always degenerates into a squabble about
[578] gift-giving There is intense pleasure in possession. Children get
[431] no sympathy when they are hurt, but objects are usually given to them.
[855] Every child has the right at least 'to see' anything he desires. In this
respect children are pampered. Adults whine for things; withholding
a desired object makes them intensely unhappy. Aggressive possession
is admired. Trade games make the exchange of property very fluid.
[437] Yet values in trade are well defined, and there is no prestige in giving
[524] more than one gets. Within the kinship circle, however, the old lavish
[858] property on the young. A father's garden is spoken of as that of his five
[431] year old son. There is a deliberate attempt to instill aggressive ownership
[865] attitudes in the young. A three year old girl is taught to claim objects in
a loud voice. This is done by shouting the possessive pronoun.

105 "These are a settled people who live within the strict limits of their
[361] village. Their small number has advantage in the study of individuals.
They have no knowledge of the world beyond the Kuluene-Kuliseu. It
has no more real existence than the various inhabited regions of the
heavens. The half dozen expeditions which have passed down the river
have communicated with the natives only with signs. The one important
result of such contact was division from peripheral tribes and the rise of
[924] metal tools. The disappearance of the stone industry, on which a defunct
[182] Trumai moiety had a monopoly, has occurred within the last generation.¹
The increased leisure which probably resulted is not utilized economically.

105 "The complete lack of self-consciousness among these people makes
123 behavior observation remarkably easy. Before I knew any of the
156 language, I could sit by the hour in various households and time the
actions of people while they paid no attention to me. For instance, one
man during twenty minutes of leisure lay down to rest in his hammock
fifteen different times, but each time disturbed himself with the re-
membrance of some petty chore undone.

[64] "The only restriction of behavior that I have seen in casual intra-
village personal relations is that the children are told not to litter the
105 floor. The only positive rule is that the head of a household must sit
[574] with a guest and converse while the guest is inside his house
[833] Furthermore, extra-marital sexual intercourse has occurred in a sha-
dow corner of my house. This lack of self-consciousness contrasts
strongly with the Karajá, who are more prudish than the Fijians.

105 "Shortage of women, because of theft of young women, polygamy,
162 lack of sexual interest in old wives (of which there are several), and
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[61] ¹ Quain refers here to the moiety-like division of the Trumai which has been
discussed in Chapter Three. This appears to be rather a result of the merger of the
northern and southern Trumai villages. The latter specialized in axe-making.